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AUTHOR Harris-Worthington, Philip
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ABSTRACT

Short-term adult residential education in Great Britain began as several experimental programs in the 1910s and began to be extensively developed in the mid-1940s. Great hopes were expressed that residential adult programs would become a key component in the adult education system and much was written about developing a unique mission and standards for short-term adult residential education (particularly by Guy Hunter, the first warden of a major residential program). By the mid-1950s, however, most short-term residential colleges had gravitated toward the policy of running vocational courses during the midweek period followed by cultural courses from Fridays to Sundays for the general public. Today's short-term residential colleges are much like their 1950s counterparts except for the fact that an even greater emphasis is given to nonvocational coursework. Many short-term colleges have also improved their offerings in terms of the facilities provided. Recognizing their particular financial vulnerability, many of these colleges have cultivated a middle-class image and become adept at adjusting their curricula to meet changing client demands and interests. Another possible course of action for these institutions is to regionalize their programs. (MN)

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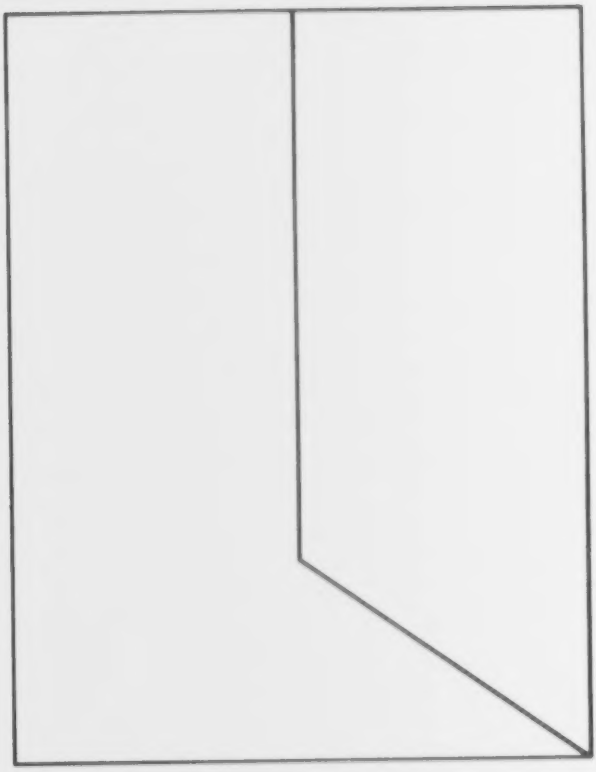
BACK TO THE FUTURE: A STUDY OF SHORT-TERM ADULT RESIDENTIAL EDUCATION



PHILIP HARRIS-WORTHINGTON

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Since the beginning of 1984, Philip Harris-Worthington has been Staff Tutor for Adult Education at The Hill Residential College in Abergavenny, Gwent. Prior to this, he taught in Further Education and Community Education as well as working in other occupations. A fundamental belief which he has continually held is that education – in its widest possible sense – is for all and is lifelong; that personal development, critical reflection and community action are amongst its prime functions. His present research interest is concerned with an appraisal of the philosophy and practice of Henry Morris who served as Cambridgeshire's Chief Education Officer from the early 1920's.

BACK TO THE FUTURE: A STUDY OF SHORT-TERM ADULT RESIDENTIAL EDUCATION

PHILIP HARRIS-WORTHINGTON
The Hill Residential College

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I am indeed honoured to be asked to write a foreword to this study of residential adult education. The author has boldly tackled both the history of changing public attitudes towards short-term residential work in its many forms, and has added a running critique of its virtues, problems and deficiencies. Such an attempt is the more difficult because there is not – and cannot be – any single definition of the prime function of adult education itself. Shall we follow Sir Richard Livingstone's definition that it must be to help the student "to earn a living, to be a citzen, and to be a man", or a different definition from professor X or philosopher Y? Are we dealing with education, or with enjoyable use of leisure, or with some form of community development?

The choice of the objective and philosophy must be made at the very outset of establishing an institution; different choices mean different régimes, opportunities and problems. Is the institution to be a college which designs and runs its own courses on a wide range of social and professional subjects, giving each course at least a week or preferably two or three? Or are the courses mainly aimed to provide an enjoyable weekend in a range of hobbies, arts and crafts and other special interests? Or is it simply a facility, for conferences, seminars, teacher training summer schools, and other organised groups running their own courses, with their own tutors and leadership? If so, it will be more of a hostel than a college, needing a well run domestic service and a list of bookings from outside.

I myself chose the independent college for Urchfont Manor, at first with courses of two weeks and occasionally one. In so doing I ran at

once in to almost all the difficulties, discussed by the author, which were largely avoided by the 'week-end' or hostel type. Above all, the issue of access – who has a fortnight to spare, in a working life, to go to a college? The author has much to say about this, including a proposal to establish a nationally funded 'Paid Education Leave' system which has often been recommended but never achieved.

Finance is another, common, difficulty. The fees at Urchfont were initially almost ridiculously low (£2 a week for all board, lodging and tuition). In consequence there was massive pressure on me from the paying Local Authority to increase fees and enroll more students. In practice this forced me to jam in weekend courses between the two-week courses, thus imposing a seven-day working week on the staff and myself. It also forced me, fortunately, to approach industrial firms to send staff members to the longer courses, and to this was added a similar recruitment from the police, magistrates, health service staff. So the two-week courses were saved, and indeed were probably the best we ran. For there were not only difficulties; there were compensations. The two weeks produced a great morale and confidence among the groups – luckily the college was only able to take about twenty students, an ideal number for an intimate group. There was time, all afternoon, for walks on the downs, or to use the college library, or listen to a reasonable choice of classical music, or to sit in the garden and talk.

A third problem is staffing. For the long courses I could borrow lecturers from outside – Oxford, London, neighbouring counties. We could attract first-rate men or women, whom I would modestly coordinate – each coming for about three days of a course. This meant that we could get through with only myself and one tutor permanently at Urchfont. The 'week-end' colleges seem to need a rather larger and more specialised cadre to cope with the range of special hobbies, arts, crafts, and more teaching space and equipment. The 'hostels' do not require their own teaching staff.

Access, finance, staffing – I have put in these detailed thoughts mainly to emphasize how the ruling philosophy of a college determines so much the problems which will beset them.

The author has done very much more. He has covered a very large range of types of institution over a long period, and an equally large conspectus of experiments and references, and that with admirable impartiality. As in all fields in which local initiatives flourish and central policy is permissive and vague, a thousand flowers spring up: some flourish, some wither. I am personally very glad that the effort at Urchfont to devise a form of education which puts the humanities in their rightful place in the discussion of social, administrative, and technological training has met with the author's approval. But this is only one part of the huge field which he has so bravely covered. There must be few people, interested in adult education, who will not learn much that is new to them from this survey.

Guy Hunter, August 1987.
Warden of Urchfont Manor Adult Residential College, 1947-51.

The following paper was presented to the annual Conference of Principals of Short-Term Adult Residential Colleges which, this year, was held at Urchfont Manor, near Devizes in Wiltshire, in May 1987. I would like to record my thanks to Ernest Richards, the present warden of Urchfont, for inviting me to address the conference. Coincidentally, 1987 constituted the 40th anniversary of Urchfont Manor as a residential adult college. It seemed fitting, therefore, to pay tribute to the college's first warden, Guy Hunter, whose writing on adult residential education can only be described as inspirational. Although he was writing on the subject during the 1950s his thinking has hardly dated, and it is entirely appropriate that his voice should be heard again in the 1980s. I am very grateful to him for kindly agreeing to write a foreword for this paper. Finally I would like to thank the Principal and Governors of The Hill College for funding the publication of this research. I hasten to add that I alone am responsible for the issues raised in the following pages together with the general orientation of the paper.

I want to start with a quote from the Alexander Report – *Adult Education: The Challenge of Change* (1975): "If the concept of education as a life-long process is to be given reality the education of adults must be accepted as an essential component of national policy designed to deal with the pressures of change and to improve the quality of life. The view of adult education as a marginal enterprise serving the interests of a relatively small proportion of the population can no longer be justified." (1). We are nowhere near, but we ought still to be aiming for this in adult education.

These sentiments are not new. They were at the heart of the residential adult education movement, and similar phrases are to be found scattered throughout *The 1919 Report* on Adult Education from The Ministry of Reconstruction. The report also reviewed developments in adult education, and showed quite clearly that short-term adult residential education was extensive around this time: "The adult schools . . . conducted in 1917 nearly 200 weekend lecture schools and about 20 summer schools of a definitely educational character." (2). They go on to talk of the growth and popularity of summer schools "... as a means of offering opportunities of reflection and discussion to men and women . . ." (3). In ways not entirely unlike the present, a short residential stay was seen as particularly beneficial to women: "Many working women find great difficulty in leaving their homes even for the shortest time, but others declare that is is easier to be entirely away for a few days than to attend a class regularly once a week, and all agree that when absence from home is possible very great educational advantages are gained." (4).

It is noteworthy how forward looking and ideologically inspiring some government educational reports have been, especially after periods of war. How far their points or policies became practice is another issue.

In 1947 the Ministry of Education produced an extensive pamphlet on *Further Education*. A fair amount of space was allotted to adult residential education. The report constituted one of the first important steps towards national recognition of the value of adult residential education, particulary its short-term variety. After summarizing some of the lessons afforded by educational services in the Forces, the report stated: "Residential courses, where students have been able for three or four weeks to devote their whole time to the pursuit of some subject of their choice, have been an outstanding success. This suggests that there may be considerable scope for and value in short courses as a permanent part of adult education if a sufficiently wide range of subjects – practical as well as theoretical – is made available." (5).

And later in the report: "Opportunities for residential education, whether for adults or for young people, have special values of their own which make it very desirable that they should be included in schemes for further education . . . Not least of its advantages is the corporate life shared with teachers and students who have common interests, but approach them from different backgrounds. In particular there is the opportunity at even a quite short residential course to create an atmosphere and engender an enthusiasm for learning that is possible in no other way."(6). They advocated the development of short residential course centres in every authority and stressed the need for establishing educational links with the long-term colleges. (7).

So the will was there in 1919 and 1947 as it was, to a lesser extent, in the more recent Russell Report – *Adult Education: A Plan for Development* (1973): "We recognise the value of short periods of concentrated study in residence and commend the local education authorities who have founded and maintained colleges . . . A number of new colleges should be established . . ." (8).

I want now to fill in the gaps around these dates in an attempt to pick up further roots of residential education, particularly short-term adult residential education up to its take-off in the mid 1940s. For an historical understanding of residential education tells us something of its original intentions. It also shows us how far we have travelled along a particular path and, indeed, how far we have deviated from it.

Frank Jessup (1972) is prepared to go as far back as the sixth century, and his reinterpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict in what it tells us of client groups and the running of a residential college makes amusing reading. (9). But on a more serious note he writes, "... it is not by mere coincidence that the Rule of a medieval monastery can thus be appropriated to an English adult education center. Both the conventual house and the center have as their *raison d'etre* the provision of opportunities for men and women to withdraw from the distractions and dangers of the everyday world to devote themselves uninterruptedly to some end... which is pursued in common with others as members of a community." (10).

In general, Jessup argues that residential education can be traced back to the old university colleges of Oxford and Cambridge and to the English Boarding School, particularly those reformed by Thomas Arnold. For Arnold, "the essence of school was that it was a residential community, and that it should be inspired by Christian ideas." (11).

It is worth noting in this connection, given that the Danish Folk High School movement tends to be viewed as a foundation stone of our residential education, that "... English attitudes and practices also seminally affected Bishop Grundtvig, the Dane who is generally accepted as the founder of the present-day residential adult education movement." (12). Having visited England in 1829 and Oxford in 1843, Grundtvig was "highly in favor of the residential principle on which the two ancient English universities were organized." (13). He had also been in touch with Arnold of Rugby, all of which was prior to the setting up of the first Danish Folk High School by Christian Flor in 1844. (14).

Donald Garside (1969) makes the point that some short-term colleges like Burton Manor and Denman College were influenced by the Danish Folk High School concept through the work of Sir Richard Livingstone "... but to claim ... that this was the real beginning of British short-term residential centres ... is not a valid conclusion and denies much that was native and well developed." (15). He cites the work of the Summer Schools which were part of the University Extension Movement, Guest Houses, and wartime education schemes along with the Danish Folk High School as origins of present-day residential education.

The first Oxford Summer School, meeting in 1888, marked the real beginning of adult residential education according to Garside: "... (T)he summer school idea, borrowed from America and strongly developed and appreciated within the British adult education system, with its emphasis upon the needs of bright but educationally deprived classes, furnished an early pattern for the all-the-year round residential centres." (16). But A. M. Hughes (1954), in a research thesis on short-term adult residential education, makes the point that emphasis here was placed on the "virtues of continuous instruction rather than on the educational advantages of common residence." (17). Hughes talks of Ruskin College, Oxford, established in 1899, as a more important predecessor. Although Ruskin led to further developments in long-term adult residential education, the important issue was that they "catered for small numbers, in part because of their consciousness of the value of

residence and their desire to create a closely knit community of common interests . . ." (18).

Garside also pointed to Guest Houses (part of the Adult School movement) as ". . . undoubtedly the first short-period residential centres." (19). Jessup shows a little more reservation when discussing their development in the inter-war years: "The students were earnest, given to vegetarianism and tweeds, seeking an opportunity to retreat for a brief period from worldly cares in order to devote themselves to learning. This was not an organized, nor an institutional movement . . . (I)t is difficult to estimate its extent and influence, but it is part of the cultural background against which the emergence of residential adult education in England must be seen." (20).

Although there is no solid agreement as to their starting point or definition, various experiments in short-term adult residential education had been taking place from the 1920s – well before their more extensive development in the late 1940s. Guy Hunter (1953) suggests that one precedent of short-term adult residential education was the Bonar Law Memorial College, Ashridge, which was running short courses from 1929. He goes on to say: "Perhaps because of its association with a political party, perhaps because men's eyes were not then open to the possibilities, its example had not been followed in the 30s." (21).

A. J. Alloway in his *The Educational Centres Movement* (1961) talks of Wincham Hall as the first short-term college established in England under Frank Milligan. It was opened in 1934 and adapted and maintained by the National Council for Social Service running courses usually of six weeks duration. It is both ironic and indeed instructive, particularly from the point of view of the 1980s, that as one of the first short-term residential colleges it concerned itself with the unemployed: "It's object was chiefly to provide unemployed men with a regime that would help to rehabilitate them physically and mentally. 'The value of a period at a residential centre', it was stated, 'is that it enables a man to escape for a time

from his limiting conditions. He can sit back and, looking at the limitations objectively, reshape his values, rediscover himself'." (22).

Alloway quotes from *Men Without Work*, published around the time, which took the view that Wincham Hall along with similar residential centres ought to be absorbed into the educational system: "'It would be a disaster if any of them were allowed to disappear because unemployment is not as bad as it was'." (23).

Thomas Kelly (1970), however, disputes the idea that both Bonar Law College and Wincham Hall 'belong to the same tradition' (24) of short-term residential colleges in his view of their development, but without really saying why. Kelly nominates the Lamb Guildhouse at Bowden, near Manchester, opened in 1938, as the 'first college of this kind'. It was the creation of R. D. Waller "... derived from his experience of W.E.A. summer schools and undergraduate reading parties." (25).

Harold Shearman (1944) writing much earlier than Kelly similarly concluded that the Lamb Guildhouse "... has perhaps pointed the way to a series of centres for week-end schools which would be a valuable adjunct of the Adult Education movement." (26). Although the venture was short-lived, Waller later created Holly Royde which ultimately became linked with Manchester University for short-course work. As Alloway says in reviewing the period: "Like the Lamb Guildhouse the residential colleges for unemployed men were among the earliest casualties of the war and they, too, never returned to their former use. But the idea of the short-term residential college had caught on ..." (27).

The cause was further championed by Sir Richard Livingstone who was greatly influenced by the Danish Folk High School movement. (28). In his *The Future in Education* (1942) Livingstone called for a comprehensive adult education system, "... something more systematic and methodical." (29). If adult education was to be really profitable to the individual certain important considerations had to

be taken into account. I will let Livingstone speak for himself: "Education is atmosphere as well as instruction; it is not an assemblage of piecemeal acquisitions and accomplishments, but the formation, largely unconscious of an outlook and an attitude. This truth adult education in Britain is yet to grasp." (30); "I do not think that we shall succeed in developing adult education unless we make it more social . . . (I)t will not burn brightly, if at all, unless fanned by that social, corporate life which exists in a residential university and which both educates and makes education attractive." (31); "Why should not each Local Educational Authority start its own House of Education?" (32).

The ferment of educational debate during the Second World War (of which this was a part), the need for social reconstruction, the cry of 'education for democracy' all gave rise to the development of short-term adult residential education. As well as Livingstone others were arguing for such establishments on a large scale, amongst them H. C. Dent in *A New Order in English Education* (1942): "Any scheme of universal adult education which is to be adequate to meet the needs of a democratic community must, I suggest, be built on four main bases: leisure-time provision, the short-term residential college, the long-term residential college, and the university." (33).

Along with other writers at the time, Dent advocated short-term colleges linking into other adult education provision preparing people for longer study. Their " . . . purpose would be inspirational rather than instructional." (34). Every worker should have the right, Dent argued, " . . . to a fortnight a year at a short-term college and a course at a long-term college once every five years . . . " (35). And he continued: "Our major problem is to enable everyone among us to develop and use to the utmost for his own and the common good all the ability and all the power innate in him. The key to the solution of that problem is education for all." (36).

A fundamental view continually voiced in the 1940s concerned the development of a democratic society through the broadening of its educational provision. Hughes made the point that the short-term

colleges "... developed at a period when people of all classes were thinking about the problems of democratic society, and speculating, in some cases, on the educational system appropriate to it." (37).

The first sentence of the Educational Settlements Association (E.S.A.) document entitled *People's Colleges for Residential Adult Education* (1943) reads: "The future of democracy depends upon education." (38). The document emphasises the importance of adult education for all, for it to be comprehensively planned: "Adult education must be no longer regarded, as it has been in the past, as a small and unimportant offshoot of a process which to all intents and purposes comes to an end during the years of adolescence. Adult education, in the widest variety of subjects and media, must be made available to all who desire and are capable of profiting by it. That means, potentially, to the entire adult population." (39). The benefits of adult residential education are outlined and compared with attendance at evening classes, referred to as 'education by teaspoonfuls'. (40). The document, in putting forward a nation-wide scheme of adult residential education, envisaged three types of college provision:
(a) An advanced type with courses from 6 months to 2 years.
(b) An intermediate type with courses running from 3 to 5 months.
(c) Short-course centres providing courses from a week to a month.

A main concern expressed around this time which was to have a direct affect on the development of adult residential education, especially the longer courses as distinct from just long-term establishments, was the issue of employers releasing workers for education. This was in addition to the related issue of an assurance of job security on return for those wishing to engage in long-term education. Dent, Livingstone and C.E.M. Joad (41), amongst others, had argued passionately for a Paid Educational Leave (42) system. This call was a worthy one emanating, as it did, from a belief that the development of adult education in its widest sense would immeasurably benefit society as a whole. But for a variety of reasons this perspective was not widely shared. Joad described the reality when he said: "... the difficulty ... is to induce employers to allow

time off for education. That difficulty will not be overcome, until the popular estimate of the importance of education is changed." (43).

On reflection, we may regard such a call for a national system of Paid Educational Leave (P.E.L.) to have been unrealistic. Today, such a call would be deemed to be uncontrolled audacity. But in the 1940s a Second World War and the need for social reconstruction gave rise to a reappraisal of society itself, an important element of which was the educational system. Many writers argued, quite logically, that if people could be released for war then why not for education. (44).

Some employers were willing to release workers for short periods but unwilling to do so on a longer term basis. The Educational Settlements Association, possibly given these conditions, called for an immediate development of short-term colleges (type (c)). As was argued, "... the short-term colleges ... do not involve that temporary disorganization of normal domestic and working life ... This would doubtless appeal particularly to the busy man or woman in need of a 'refresher' course." (45).

It would be logical to assume that this situation favoured the short-term colleges, but this was not ultimately so. A national Paid Educational Leave system argued for in the 1940s, and which we still have not achieved, was inextricably intertwined with *all* forms of adult residential education. If residential adult education was to develop it was to be the short-term variety, but colleges whose role and purpose was to be changed before they had even started. What was really envisaged at the time, called for by the Trades Union Congress (46), the Educational Settlements Association (47) and by many individual writers already mentioned, were residential establishments running intermediate length courses of three to six months with a guaranteed student population. The literature clearly points to this, and it was dependent on an imaginative Paid Educational leave policy being put into operation.

The new colleges' aim, therefore, had to be short courses 'compatible with virtually unbroken employment'. This "... implied courses of a maximum of two weeks, which was generally felt to be as long as employers would grant leave or as holidays would allow." (48).

None of this is intended to suggest that the merits of adult residential education were in doubt. After all, the Government's *White Paper on Educational Reconstruction* (1943) which preceded the 1944 Education Act contained the following statement in relation to adult education: "In particular, there will need to be developed appropriate centres, including a number of residential colleges which will not only provide the educational courses which the adult population will need, but will add to them the values associated with the life of a corporate institution." (49).

Similarly, Robert Peers noted in his *Adult Education: A Comparative Study* (1959): "Recognition of the value of shorter courses of residential study was reinforced by the experience of the immediate post-war years, when numbers of men from the Forces were awaiting demobilization. Army Formation Colleges proved a valuable means of rehabilitation and the opportunity of attendance at other residential courses was welcomed by the Services." (50).

However, the subsequent development of a wide range of work which differed somewhat from one college to another, the need to meet costs coupled with the relatively short duration of courses (all of which had no absolute guaranteed student number) meant that it was particularly difficult for short-term residential education to develop a coherent philosophy and a definite sense of purpose. Harold Shearman, although in favour of adult residential education, touched on some of these issues as early as 1944: "If the educational aim of these projects appears as yet to need more thought, and if the distinction between a residential college and a holiday course is not always firmly drawn, it remains true that centres like these are to be warmly welcomed." (51). But he added: "It is necessary that the aim of any such college be defined, and it is not apparent that the necessary thinking has yet been done on this." (52).

In sum, the concept of short-term adult residential education had proved its worth in the many ventures which had taken place from early in the century. Secondly, it was because of this that there were calls, in the 1940s, for the establishment of a national system of short-term adult residential colleges intended to serve their respective localities and act as focal points for adult education. The British Institute of Adult Education (53) had expressed the view that "... the residential college course for adults should be regarded as the crown of adult education for the community as a whole ..." (54). Thirdly, as the heart of an adult education system it was intended to be for all. This could best be accomplished through a national policy of Paid Educational Leave.

This was not to be. The new short-term colleges were not to play the role envisaged for them in a comprehensive adult education system and on the scale advocated in the 1940s. They were not to put into practice the precedents set by their own history. They could not, and still do not, cater for all. Yet the original concepts and hopes still remain, however dimmed by circumstances. The statement made by Walter Drews in 1980 in response to the A.C.A.C.E. discussion document *Present Imperfect* attests to this: "We should be aiming for a system of comprehensive adult education, both vocational and non-vocational, residential and non-residential, available to everyone without restriction and containing within its provision facilities for disadvantaged members of our society." (55).

The bridge between concept and practice, today and in the 1940s, was a very big one. Educationists could write and praise as much as they wanted and short-term colleges could actually open as they did en masse from the late 1940s but what really counted were social forces. It was, and probably always will be, dependent upon people's attitudes (particularly those in power) towards the value of adult education and the willingness of employers to release workers for reasonably long periods without any real incentive or impetus from government to do so. It was not altogether surprising that, given no national Paid Educational Leave policy, employers needed continually to be convinced of the merits of release for even short residential periods of study.

Many articles concerned with short-term adult residential education, written mainly by the new wardens, appeared in the journal *Adult Education* during the decade of the 1950s, with rather fewer appearing in the decades which followed. Any review of the period ought to take note of them, for they give an insight into trends and developments. (56). What I wish to do in particular, by way of a tribute, is to review the work of Guy Hunter – the first warden of Urchfont Manor – who was writing on the subject of residential education from the 1950s. Of all the wardens of short-term colleges, he was the most prolific writer on the subject and, to me, the most interesting. (57). There is a further reason for looking at Hunter specifically. His work, underpinned by a clear educational philosophy, describes, reflects and recommends. He identifies the problems, the prospects and the pitfalls of adult residential education. Accordingly, much of his thinking is relevant today.

In one of his longer pieces of writing, *Residential Colleges: Some New Developments in British Adult Education* (1953), Hunter faces the problem of developing a college policy in the absence of a national Paid Educational Leave system which would have allowed for longer courses. He observed: "Either the potential student must throw up his job to come to a college, or he must be released or seconded by his employer. If there is one major criticism of the founders and administrators of the new colleges, it is that, in their zeal for a new idea and their passionate belief in its value, they would not face this sharp issue squarely ..." (58).

The short course was the only answer. But it meant having to fill many Monday to Friday periods, scattered throughout the year. In most of the colleges this was achieved "... partly by 'letting' the college to outside organisations for conferences or training courses, and partly by using it for the domestic purposes of the Local Education Authority – training teachers, courses for youth organisers, courses concerning retarded children, and similar purposes." (59).

As well as this work, some colleges followed a policy of running very short events throughout the week including one day visits. But other colleges, Urchfont and Burton Manor for instance, felt that this 'defeated the value of residence' and "... that the new colleges must establish themselves as teaching organisations, with something of their own to contribute, rather than merely the venue for others to carry on their work, and for this reason 'lettings' were to be regarded as exceptional." (60).

It was under these conditions that some colleges tried to come to terms with the employment situation: "... (T)he wardens concerned set themselves the task of chiselling out a place for residential education in the national structure of life by a vigorous onslought on employers to grant short leave from work. It was largely from those colleges which were determined to run longer courses that the first ... experiments in running semi-vocational courses for industrial and administrative personnel originated." (61).

However, by the mid-fifties many of the short-term residential colleges had, in the main, gravitated towards what Hunter described as a 'compromise position': vocational courses being run during the midweek period followed by 'cultural' courses from Fridays to Sundays for the general public. The current trend was being set in motion.

None of this could be divorced from the fact that most of the colleges were funded and controlled by their respective Local Education Authorities. Hunter's comments, in noting this and other social implications, are as pertinent today: "... (W)here a

college is run directly by a Local Authority, and must therefore have its income renewed yearly by the vote of an elected committee, pressure of public opinion will have a considerable effect on policy; and there is considerable pressure for recreative weekend courses from men and women whose employers refuse any concession, whose family circumstances prevent a longer absence from home, or who in any case are only interested in an enjoyable weekend rather than a fortnight's course of serious study." (62).

These views cannot be divorced from Hunter's educational orientations, his belief in the value of the humanities, in humane adult education, which he sought to develop in practice. Like others before him – Alfred North Whitehead, Sir Fred Clarke, Henry Morris – Hunter argued that the non-vocational/vocational divide was spurious and unreal. (63). It also helped sustain divisions between social classes. As far as Hunter was concerned this meant rethinking the role of education. His experiences as warden of Urchfont Manor led him to suggest "... that there is an important future for adult education, and especially for the residential colleges, in vocational education, distinguished from technical training in that it is concerned not merely with techniques but the social purposes and relationships of work; and that such teaching should rightly be included in a broadened conception of humane education." (64).

In general, Hunter was pressing for a philosophy of education, a guiding framework in which the residential colleges could function and make a unique contribution. Without this, there were inherent dangers. Some of his expressed concerns about weekend course provision are as true today as they were over thirty years ago: "Pressure to meet every variety of local demand, results in so wide a variety of work that it is difficult for the college to hold on to any coherent outlook or policy: and the constant repetition of short courses puts such a strain on warden and staff that the temptation is to rely on a smoothly running domestic economy and an outside lecturer to do the job, with no distinctive contribution from 'the college', which can become a mixture between a residential

conference centre and a weekend hotel. It is at present an open question whether the colleges will degenerate into a mere facility for existing work or will live on to make a real new contribution of their own." (65).

The related issue of standards in short-term adult residential education was also addressed. Here, Hunter warned that the "greatest danger to which the whole movement is at present exposed is the wide variation of standards . . . and an uncritical assumption that the mounting student totals are a sufficient indication of success. A testing time will come; and it is on the quality rather than the volume of their work that the colleges will depend for survival." (66).

In an earlier piece of writing published in 1951, Hunter talked of two distinct types of short-term residential colleges defined "according to the kind of work which dominates their programme . . ." (67). The first of these he called the 'cultural community centre' catering ". . . for what may be called hobby interests . . . mainly through weekend courses." (68). The second type of college ". . . runs longer courses (at least the inside of a week) on the humanities . . ." (69) related to work, working roles and serious study. Hunter discussed the relative merits of each type as a residential centre. Of the cultural community centre he wrote: ". . . there are a few questions to be asked about the siting and the real function of such centres having regard to their cost . . . For would not a really good non-residential community centre do almost as well?" (70). Alternatively, those colleges running longer courses ". . . should be conscious that their aim is utterly different from that of the hobby centre, that their organization must differ accordingly, and that they should not dissipate too much of their energies in flying after any weekend which is popular, any customer who happens to want a booking, or any party which wants to come to tea. If they can achieve their main object, they should one day be providing, in fifteen or twenty places in England, a deeper and more lasting experience for the individual and a more searching criticism of society alongside the more numerous cultural centres which are ministering, often with success and delight, to known hobbies and the pleasant interests which lie

nearer the surface. The case for one type is to widen and enrich the ordinary cultural opportunities; the case for the other is to deepen individual experience and to provide a form of political / philosophical training which can help correct the mechanistic tendencies of a modern mass society." (71).

Are today's short-term colleges closer to the cultural community centre as described by Hunter? If this is so, then could it not be said that we have failed to make short-term adult residential education meaningful enough.

At the end of the fifties Hunter was writing again on *Residential Colleges for Adult Education* (1959). He noted that a number of colleges "... included a considerable proportion of industrial work in their programmes, in most cases ... taking direct responsibility for the syllabus and direction of the course." (72). Hunter obviously viewed this role as very important "... because of the clash of interests and attitudes which has made industrial relations the principle focus of social conflict in our times." (73). On the other hand, "A great number of courses offered – bird-watching, music appreciation, painting for amateurs, photography, folk dancing, drama, local history – are in fact simply an opportunity ... to pursue a hobby ... with a group of fellow enthusiasts ... In giving such courses, the colleges are either supplying a substitute for a local society or club, or, more often, giving such a society a chance to improve its standards and enrich its programme through a residential course. Whether such a programme is justified – the arguments for strengthening community life in our present society are strong – is mainly a political rather than an educational question." (74).

Here, Hunter is returning to one of the themes he covered in his 1951 article. However, his view of the hobby-type course being run by residential colleges seems to have been modified. But it is important to note why such modification has taken place. It lies in the phrase 'strengthening community life' and was based on the assumption that residential colleges could be centres which brought together various clubs and societies from within specific geographical areas.

Today, many students travel long distances, crossing a number of these localized boundaries, to pursue the same subjects. It can hardly be said of the present that many short-term adult residential colleges are 'strengthening community life'.

The situation of the short-term adult residential colleges depicted by Hunter is not so different from today. A main exception is the even greater emphasis given to non-vocational work of the hobbies type relative to the amount of semi-vocational work. Indeed, the semi-vocational work of the type described by Hunter has, for the most part, been replaced by the conference booking. In my own college the latest available statistics show that approximately 55% of the total student numbers attending the college were on closed courses, while 45% were on open courses.

Conference bookings have even encroached upon the weekend period – traditionally reserved for open adult education work – subsequently reducing the availability of residential places for the general public. There is no intended suggestion here that residential conferences are not valuable educational experiences for their participants, but they have had implications for the short-term colleges. Nowadays, conference organizers can take their choice from a range of competitively priced hotels. When they decide to use a short-term college instead they do so on the understanding that the facilities are of a reasonably high standard – otherwise the majority would not come. Can it possibly be imagined that either today's conference group or, indeed, most of our present clientele would put up with what the Educational Settlements Association recommended in 1943 as temporary accommodation in their eagerness to set in motion a residential adult education system across the nation? Given that the availability of country houses – bought at knock-down prices after the war by Local Education Authorities for residential education – would ultimately diminish,

the Educational Settlements Association suggested that "The use of prefabricated buildings would ease the problem greatly . . . (but) . . . even with the fullest use of prefabricated materials, a certain amount of improvisation would be almost inevitable. Ordnance hostels and military hutments spring at once to mind as offering temporary accommodation." (75).

Today, we are heading towards the situation described by Donald Garside in 1969, with its obvious social and educational implications, when he talked of American developments in 'residential learning for adults'. Some might say we have arrived already: ". . . (T)he magnificence which characterises the centres seems to be a deterrent to some sections in the community which ought to be served by adult education, and the charges are too high for them. In fact no courses or conferences can involve people who are below comfortable middle-class level unless some kind of financial backing for the project can be found." (76).

Many of the short-term colleges have gone 'up-market' in terms of the facilities provided. With the exception of some financial concessons (77) and agreed reductions for in-county rate-payers, this has pushed up course costs for non-vocational adult eduation. Related to this is the predicament Burton Manor found itself facing in late 1980: ". . . Burton Manor (which had been receiving a 30% subsidy from its three sponsoring local education authorities) was obliged to move towards a self-supporting basis. This meant increasing the fees in the general adult non-vocational programme and looking for additional income from the 'commissioned' industrial programme." (78).

As most of the non-vocational work in short-term colleges depends upon the self-financing individual, only those groups within a certain socio-economic range can afford to attend such courses. Further, as short-term colleges have become acutely aware of their financial vulnerability, the curriculum offered tends to be adjusted to suit the needs of a specific client group. The college and the curriculum develop a middle-class image. Images give a sense of security, they feel safe and, over a prolonged period, become

comfortable and perceived as legitimate. But images are also barriers; blocks against potential developments in any other direction. We are a far cry from the proposals of the 1940s.

The trends and transitions I have described, which have taken place over the last forty years, were adopted by the short-term colleges as mechanisms for survival. Criticism of short-term residential education is, therefore, somewhat unhelpful unless such historical trends are taken into account. Equally, in a budget-conscious society such as ours, the short-term colleges have to prove their worth by spelling out clearly what their educational benefits are now. Donald Garside (1969) stresses that research needs to be done as to "... how the effectiveness of this kind of education can be evaluated." (79).

In *The Education of Adults in Britain* (1982), Derek Legge raises some of the thorny issues surrounding short-term adult residential education: "Besides the difficult question of cost there are assertions that the courses are shallow and too short to allow for systematic study, that they lack coherence, and that despite the euphoria sometimes engendered, they fail to achieve any enduring worthwhile educational result. Against this, there is some subjective, though substantial, evidence that residence makes a significant impact on the development of interests and awareness, and that even a short absence from home and work 'can effect quite remarkable learning and attitude changes'." (80).

On the question of subsidy, Legge points out that "... some advocate a heavy subsidy while others believe that charges should be increased at least to keep pace with rising costs and rising expectations. If the latter course of action is followed, will it accentuate the existing tendency to have a mainly middle-class clientele?" (81). Of course, a lack of subsidy would exclude the disadvantaged who could otherwise gain immeasurable benefit from attending a short-term college according to Peter Clyne (82) in his book *The Disadvantaged Adult* (1972).

Even the A.C.A.C.E. survey (1983) was unable to give much support. After surveying short-term residential centres in the North West, they concluded. "It was difficult to identify any coherent 'philosophy' behind the programmes ..." (83).

Some of the criticisms directed toward adult residential education by other authors are brought together by J. A. Simpson (1972) when he writes: "The short-term centre is too often the means of saving some inconvenient architectural relic of the days of monstrous inequality from the bulldozer, and it presents an image which is inconsistent with the title 'People's College' or 'Folk High School'. There are real workaday merits, in some cases, in residence for educational purposes, but they are best provided not in a fictitious environment. Adults should be with similar younger students of cognate subjects, and residence could best be provided by the addition of extensions or adult wings built on to teacher training colleges, technical colleges and universities that already have residential accommodation." (84).

There is no room for complacency on the part of the short-term colleges. Before it is too late, there is need to develop further ideas and to become more actively involved than at present in post-16 education. But there are no easy solutions. Obviously, finance is a major issue. The recent N.I.A.C.E. discussion paper (1985), drafted by Arthur Stock, summed it up well: "The pressure on short-term residential colleges to cover all (or nearly all) costs including overheads is militating against their capability to provide a wide general education for all groups, and tending toward their over-concentration on exclusive 'contract' provision at high fees or limiting their capability to serve other than high income individuals. The lack of recognition of the colleges as an important national resource of great potential continues to be a serious impediment to necessary development." (85).

The ideal would be to untie ourselves from Local Education Authorities and receive central government funding. But, in a section on short-term colleges, in his book *Adult Education in England and Wales – A Critical Survey* (1973), John Lowe notes that "The Department of Education and Science is unwilling to give them direct grants, principally on the ground that they do not provide a nation-wide coverage." (86).

Alternatively, then, the next best move would be to regionalize the colleges. Well over thirty years ago Guy Hunter recognised that short-term colleges "... need a 'region' rather than one county to support courses." (87). On this basis, a 'nation-wide' network of specifically planned course programmes developed in, and for, each

of the respective regions would be possible. The Adult Residential Colleges Association (A.R.C.A.) is ideally placed to co-ordinate such a scheme providing all the colleges are willing to co-operate and communicate.

The following types of provision could all be operated on a regional basis as part of a national network of intensive short course work:

1) We have well over three million unemployed people in Britain. It cannot be beyond the bounds of possibility to develop a co-ordinated scheme suitable to their needs. (88). Could not the Department of Health and Social Security subsidize study on relevant and worthwhile residential courses? At the same time, we should not ignore the possibility of involvement in youth training work. Some of these schemes have inbuilt residential elements. (89).

2) Under the present government we are becoming a nation of small businesses. Short-term colleges could not offer technical training to them. However, there is no reason why an expertise in managerial and communication skills could not be developed with short, intensive courses aimed specifically at the small businessman. One just needs to look at the residential rates of a management college to see how competitive we could be here. In the same sense, consideration should also be given to the training needs of voluntary group organizers.

3) There are some opportunities too for us to offer potential training courses in other related fields, and, of importance, to be grant-aided for these. *Paying for Training*, a comprehensive guide to sources of finance for adult training, was produced jointly by the M.S.C. and PICKUP last year. (90). The details of the guide require careful scrutiny but, it seems to me, there is a role to be discerned for some residential short course work.

4) Why are we not fully involved, much more than at present, with the Open University in both a residential and teaching capacity? Allan Kingsbury, writing in 1969, estimated that some thirty

short-term colleges "... can offer about two thousand student days per year for tutorials in association with the Open University." (91). Although university halls have the capacity to offer residence en masse, the restriction to summer periods for residential courses of this type in universities is not the case with residential colleges. As Kingsbury argued, "... the greater flexiblity of short-course colleges can adjust more directly to student needs." (92). It may be that the Open University would welcome summer school type provision at different times throughout the year, not just in relation to degree studies but also in the new modules it has been developing recently for a wider range of people. And, what about the new Open College?

5) We should not give up on the Paid Educational Leave issue. Although Europe is ahead of us in this field it may be hoped that along with the goods we import from Germany we might also import some of their ideas. In his conference review of *International Work in European Residential Colleges* held in Northern Germany in September 1975, Walter Drews wrote of "... experimental work taking place concerned with the pressures of modern living. For one such experiment, families of car production workers with children were invited to attend a residential course and the relationship inside the family was discussed. Children realised why their parents could, at times, be irritable; parents discovered how their children felt, and the difficulties of working mothers were discussed. The organisers felt that it was a valuable course in common understanding. Incidentally, the workers were sponsored by their firms and only a small contribution was asked for children for this one-week course." (93).

Like Sherlock Holmes, Guy Hunter returns. I will finish with a quotaton from him: "There is no moment more dangerous for an industrial civilisation ... than the moment of disillusion with the technical and utilitarian quality of its culture. For the temptation is not to open and heal the septic wound which the dehumanising of work has made, but to seek to cover it with dressings and bandages

borrowed from civilisations of the past. There is still time for some of these small experiments in Britain to point the way to a more healthy and courageous cure." (94).

I will put it less poetically. We can stand still but society will always be changing around us. Rather than following trends, we can create them.

(1) *Adult Education: The Challenge of Change.* (Chairman: Professor K. J. W. Alexander). Scottish Education Department, H.M.S.O., Edinburgh, 1975, p. 25.

(2) *Final Report.* Adult Education Committee, Ministry of Reconstruction, H.M.S.O., 1919, p. 38. *The 1919 Report: The Final and Interim Reports of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction 1918-1919,* republished by the Department of Adult Education, University of Nottingham, 1980.

(3) Ibid., p. 39.

(4) Ibid., p. 260.

(5) *Further Education: The Scope and Opportunities under the Education Act, 1944.* Ministry of Education, Pamphlet No. 8, H.M.S.O., 1947, p. 35.

(6) Ibid., p. 60.

(7) Ibid., see p. 61-62.

(8) *Adult Education: A Plan for Development.* (Chairman: Sir Lionel Russell), H.M.S.O., 1973, p. 68.

(9) Jessup, F., *Historical and Cultural Influences Upon The Development of Residential Centers for Continuing Education,* Occasional Papers, No. 31, October 1972, Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, see p. 2.

(10) Ibid., p. 3.

(11) Ibid., p. 4.

(12) Ibid., p. 5.

(13) Ibid., p. 6.

(14) Thomas, J. E., *Radical Adult Education: Theory and Practice*, Nottingham Studies in the Theory and Practice of the Education of Adults, 1982, see p. 25 and 27.

(15) Garside, D., *Short-Term Residential Colleges: their Origins and Value*, Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1969, p.11.

(16) Ibid., p. 8.

(17) Hughes, A. M., *Some Problems of the Short-Term Adult Residential College in Post-War Britain*, M.A. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1954, p. 3.

(18) Ibid., p. 3.

(19) Op. cit., Garside, p. 9.

(20) Op cit., Jessup, p. 16-17.

(21) Hunter, G., *Residential Colleges: Some New Developments in British Adult Education*, Occasional Paper No. 1, The Fund for Adult Education, 1953, p. 25.

(22) Alloway, A. J., *The Educational Centres Movement*, N.I.A.E., 1961, p. 36. A fascinating account of Frank Milligan's thinking and the background to Wincham Hall can be found in Groombridge, B., *The Wincham Experiment – Frank Milligan and the Unemployed*, Studies in Adult Education, Vol. 8, No. 2, October 1976, p. 113-133.

(23) Ibid., p. 36.

(24) Kelly, T., *A History of Adult Education in Great Britain*, Liverpool University Press, 1970 (first published 1962), p.392n.

(25) Ibid., p. 392.

(26) Shearman, H. C., *Adult Education for Democracy*, W.E.A., 1944, p. 73.

(27) Op cit., Alloway, p. 37. An informative summary of the background of the Lamb Guildhouse and Holly Royde can be found in Kelly, T., *Outside the Walls: Sixty Years of University Extension at Manchester 1886-1946*, Manchester University Press, 1950, p. 86-88; a comprehensive history can be found in Waller, R. D., *Residential College: origins of the Lamb Guildhouse and Holly Royde*, University of Manchester Press, 1954.

(28) Sir Richard Livingstone often referred to the 'People's High School' or P.H.S. when discussing these educational developments in Scandinavian countries as a whole.

(29) Livingstone, Sir R. W., *The Future in Education*, Cambridge at the University Press, May 1942 (first published March 1941), p.43.

(30) Ibid., p. 51.

(31) Ibid., p. 52.

(32) Ibid., p. 65. A useful summary of some of Livingstone's views on adult education advocating the development of a short-term adult residential system, new teaching techniques, and education for all can be found in his essay on *Adult Education* in Moore, R. W., (ed), *Education: To-Day and To-Morrow*, Michael Joseph Ltd., 1945.

(33) Dent, H. C., *A New Order in English Education*, University of London Press, October 1942, p. 73.

(34) Ibid., p. 75.

(35) Ibid., p. 78.

(36) Ibid., p. 79.

(37) Op. cit., Hughes, p. 11.

(38) *People's Colleges for Residential Adult Education*, E.S.A., 1943, p. 5.

(39) Ibid., p. 7.

(40) Ibid., p. 9.

(41) Joad, C. E. M., *About Education*. Faber and Faber, 1945, see p. 139-140.

(42) Often referred to as a "sabbatical" or "sabbatical term" at the time.

(43) Op. cit., Joad, p. 139.

(44) For instance, Sir Richard Livingstone had written in *The Future in Education*: "When compulsory military service was introduced in these islands before the war, men had to leave their employment to perform it; a sacrifice actually made for military needs could also be made for other purposes, if we came to believe that education was no less important than readiness for war." (p. 61).

(45) Op. cit., *People's Colleges*, p. 20-21.

(46) Ibid., p. 11-12 quotes from the T.U.C.'s *Memorandum on Education after the War*: "Room must be found in the adult education scheme also for residential institutions, (which) have a real part to play in adult education . . . the most serious consideration ought to be given to the possibility of instituting in this country a system of short-term residential courses for adult students lasting from, say three to six months . . . Widely available, (this) would help to build up a social consciousness amongst the young citizens of the country, and might well be the means of establishing a permanent interest in adult education amongst a much wider section of the community than is touched by the provision hitherto made. The Government should give a lead to employers to release workers for this kind of short course, with an assurance of reinstatement on their return."

(47) Op. cit., *People's Colleges*, p. 20 reads: "There will be need for considerably larger provision of the intermediate type of college. How considerable this may have to be it is as yet impossible to foresee. It depends upon many factors: the

quality of the education given in the future to the young, the willingness of industry and commerce to release workers for extended periods, and the readiness of students to undertake courses of this length. It might be that ultimately there would have to be more type (b) colleges than any other."

(48) Op. cit., Hunter, p. 27.

(49) Quoted in Jessup, op. cit., p. 19.

(50) Peers, R., *Adult Education: A Comparative Study*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959 (first published 1958), p. 131.

(51) Op. cit., Shearman, p. 73.

(52) Ibid., p. 73.

(53) Later to become the N.I.A.E. and now the N.I.A.C.E.

(54) Quoted in Jessup, op. cit., p. 18, from *Adult Education After the War*, B.I.A.E., 1945.

(55) Drews, W., *Response to the discussion paper "Present Imperfect" published by the Advisory Council for Adult Continuing Education*, Residential Colleges Division of the A.A.C.E., privately circulated in A.A.C.E.'s Short-Term Residential Colleges Division newsletter, July 1980.

(56) For instance:-
Brown, A. M., *The First Year at Burton Manor*, Vol. 21, No. 4, June 1949, p. 194-199.
Hunter, G., *1950 – A New Dedication*, Vol. 22, No. 3, March 1950, p. 169-177.
Brown, A. M., *The Organization and Administration of a New Residential College*, Vol. 23, No. 2, September 1950, p. 122-127.
Hunter, G., *Short-Term Residential Colleges – Towards a Definition*, Vol. 23, No. 1, March 1951, p. 285-289.
Down, W., *'Night School' and 'Boarding School'*, Vol. 24, No. 2, Autumn 1951, p. 135-139.
Hopkinson, D. M., *Residential Short Courses – Planning and Method*, Vol. 24, No. 4, Spring 1952, p. 294-300.

Cherrington, P., *Adventures in Co-operation*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Autumn 1955, p. 106-112.
Smith, E., *Knuston Hall, 1951-61*, Vol. 34, No. 3, September 1961, p. 146-147.
Goddard, J., *The Role of the Tutor in the Short-Term Residential College*, Vol. 34, No. 5, January 1962, p. 274-277.
Raymond, J., *Creative Leisure in the Short Term Residential Colleges*, Vol. 38, No. 2, July 1965, p. 84-88.
Smith, E., *New Courses for 'old hands'*, Vol. 40, no. 5, January 1968, p. 299-302.
Jones, H. S., *The Hill*, Milnes, D. M., *Maryland*, under *Accommodation*, Vol. 40, No. 6, March 1968, p. 369-373.
Kingsbury, A., *Residence, broadcasting and the Open University*, Vol. 41, No. 6, March 1969, p. 353-359.

(57) Apart from his writings on the general theme of short-term adult residential education, as warden of Urchfont Manor in Wiltshire, Hunter took it upon himself to produce extensive summaries of a number of courses held there from April 1947 until January 1950. These were published as the *Urchfont Papers*. They provide a useful historical record but also an insight into the nature and object of the courses as compared with today's provision. In his preface to *Urchfont Papers*, dated September 1947, Guy Hunter explained that one important function of the Papers was to strengthen the link between Urchfont Manor and its wider community: "If Urchfont Manor is indeed to become a valuable possession for all Wiltshire people it must be able to keep in touch with a far wider circle than the students who can come in the first few years, and to keep more constantly in touch with the students themselves..."

(58) Op. cit., Hunter, 1953, p. 24.

(59) Ibid., p. 27-28.

(60) Ibid., p. 28.

(61) Ibid., p. 29.

(62) Ibid., p. 29.

(63) Ibid., see p. 35-48 for Hunter's discussion on this issue.

(64) Ibid., p. 49. A full discussion of the value of residence as a liberal element in technical education can be found in Silberston, D., *Residence and Technical Education*, Max Parrish/N.I.A.E., 1960.

(65) Op. cit., Hunter, 1953, p. 56.

(66) Ibid., p. 57.

(67) Hunter, G., *Short-Term Residential Colleges – Towards a Definition*, Adult Education, Vol. 23, No. 1, March 1951, p.285.

(68) Ibid., p. 285.

(69) Ibid., p. 287.

(70) Ibid., p. 286.

(71) Ibid., p. 288-289.

(72) Hunter, G., *Residential Colleges for Adult Education* in Raybould, S. G., (ed), *Trends in English Adult Education*, Heinemann, 1959, p. 125.

(73) Ibid., p. 124.

(74) Ibid., p. 129-130.

(75) Op. cit., *People's Colleges*, p. 27-28.

(76) Op. cit., Garside, p. 25.

(77) See Midwinter, E., *Age is opportunity: educaton and older people*, Policy Studies in Ageing, No. 2, Centre for Policy on Ageing, 1982, p. 29.

(78) Percy, K., et. al., *Post-Initial Education in the North West of England – a survey of provision*, A.C.A.C.E., 1983, p. 53. The retiring principal of Burton Manor informed me that the college was not *'obliged* to move towards a self-supporting basis' but *chose* to do so. However, the main point remains valid – that non-vocational course fees increased as a result.

(79) Op. cit., Garside, p. 4.

(80) Legge, D., *The Education of Adults in Britain*, The Open University Press, 1982, p. 80.

(81) Ibid., p. 81.

(82) *See* Clyne, P., *The Disadvantaged Adult: Educational and social needs of minority groups*, Longman, 1972, p. 14-16.

(83) Op. cit., Percy et. al., p. 54.

(84) Simpson, J. A., *Today and Tomorrow in European Adult Education: A study of the present situation and future developments*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1972, p. 150.

(85) Stock, A., *Special and General Education for Adults – Problems, and Suggestions for Reform and Regeneration*, N.I.A.C.E. discussion paper, September 1985, para. 7.5.

(86) Lowe, J., *Adult Education in England and Wales: A Critical Study*, Leeds Studies in Adult Education, Michael Joseph, 1973, p. 87.

(87) Op. cit., Hunter, 1951, p. 288.

(88) Northern College have been engaged in some innovative work with unemployed adults from the Dearne Valley region of South Yorkshire since 1985. See Field, J., *Residential adult education in the workless state*, Adult Education, Vol. 58, No. 1, June 1985, p. 25-32. It is also well worth consulting Cowburn, W., *Class Ideology and Community Education*, Croom Helm, 1986, p. 191-199 and p. 206-208.

(89) A useful publication in this connection, written around the time of the Youth Opportunities Programme (a predecessor to Y.T.S.), is *Using Residential Experience in YOP: Guidelines for using residential and outdoor education experiences within the Youth Opportunities Programme*, M.S.C., August 1981.

(90) *Paying for Training: A comprehensive guide to sources of finance for adult training*, produced for the Department of Education and Science PICKUP Programme with support from the

M.S.C. as part of the Adult Training Strategy and published by The Planning Exchange, revised and reprinted August 1986.

(91) Kingsbury, A., *Residence, Broadcasting and the Open University*, Adult Education, Vol. 41, No. 6, March 1969, p.359.

(92) Ibid., p. 358-59.

(93) Drews, W., *'International Work in European Residential Colleges': Schleswig-Holstein/EBAE conference, in Leck, Northern Germany (1-6 September 1975)*, Adult Education, Vol. 48, No. 4, November 1975, p. 276.

(94) Op. cit., Hunter, 1953, p. 64.

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